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CANADIAN EMANCIPATION

AND

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 1880.

In unfolding to-day the flag of Canadian Emancipation and Commercial Union with the United States, we answer the earnest call of patriotic citizens and business men, all over the land. But a few days ago the Prime Minister of the Federal Government, Sir John A. MacDonald, boldly affirmed, in his celebrated speech delivered at the Ottawa banquet, that, in case of conflict, the interests of Canada should prevail over those of Great Britain. Never before was such an independent sentiment uttered by the leader of a Canadian Government. Sir John had unmistakably announced his views, by going to the polls, at the last general Election, with the popular cry of "Canada for the Canadians". But this last expression of his devotion, to the best interests of the Dominion, sheds a new light on the national policy of his administration.

The protection of home manufactures against British competition, by the imposition of heavy custom-house duties, and the appointment of Sir A. T. Galt, the most prominent independence advocate in Canada, to negotiate commercial treaties with both France and Spain, can leave no possible doubt, in the minds of intelligent observers, that the policy of the present Government is to free themselves, more and more, from the thralldom of the colonial system.

And how can it be otherwise ? How can men, as distinguished as Sir John and his colleagues, submit

tamely to the humiliating position in which they stand under the colonial office? Who can feel more bitterly than they do that the whole political and parliamentary fabric of this great Dominion is powerless, under the supreme will of the colonial Minister? Neither can they ignore that, as mere colonists, they amount to absolutely nothing, in the diplomatic and international relations of the world; that they are actually prohibited from entering into communication with other governments, to settle the most important interests confided to their administration.

If true to the people they represent, how can these responsible ministers submit to their colonial bondage, without a well justified impatience? They must long after the moment when Canada, better instructed in her own interests, will boldly demand her emancipation. Once free from the colonial tie, we will be at liberty to negotiate a commercial union with our wealthy and progressive neighbours, to pull down that Chinese wall which separates us from 50,000,000 of consumers, anxious to buy every article we have for sale, at the highest market price.

In publishing our Review, our object is to hasten the development of this very desirable contingency. When freedom of thought is being assailed by the most powerful organ of the liberal party of Canada, it is fully time that a fearless and independent organ of public opinion should be started. Let it have the support of every true canadian, who has a stake in the country, free from party distinctions or national prejudice.

In no way will we take part in the discussion of political issues, now dividing liberals and conservatives. We will devote ourselves exclusively to the future policy of our country. We hope to have the full sympathy of the press. In case we should be met with abuse, not argument, we will have no place in our Review for that style of discussion. So as to protect our correspondents, against personal strictures, articles will not be signed.

Persons, receiving this first number, will please remit at once their subscription, so as to secure the receipt of the next issue. Active agents are wanted everywhere, to help the cause of Canadian Emancipation and Commercial Union with the United States.

J. X. PERRAULT & COMPANY,

Publishers and Proprietors.

Where is the cause of our General Depression ?

—Canada has arrived to such a state of general poverty, our wealthy citizens have been so reduced by the present crisis, so many hitherto powerful commercial firms have been swept into bankruptcy, every interest, in fact, is now under such a cloud of absolute ruin, with no confidence in the future, that the time has come, in the opinion of every business man in the country, of adopting immediate means of public relief ; something in our present position being radically wrong.

What is the actual position of Canada, as a commercial and manufacturing country, with regard to the rival nations of the world ? The Dominion has in itself every element of greatness, possessing half a continent in territory, most fertile regions for agricultural pursuits, inexhaustible coal-fields east and west, mineral wealth in every direction, timber-lands without end, the best fisheries in the world, inland waters for the cheapest possible transportation, thousands of miles of sea coast, and, above all, a robust, hard-working, well-conducted, educated and intelligent population of 5,000,000 of citizens, to be favourably compared in every respect, with those of any other country.

Where, then, is the cause of our general and necessary distress ? It is to be found in our colonial system. The British North America Act, in uniting in a mighty Confederation the several Provinces of the Dominion, has laid the foundation of a powerful state. We have been given the control of our civil and criminal laws, the management of our interior affairs,

including railways, navigation, finance, militia and taxation. But one interest, the most important just now, in fact the only interest on which a commercial, agricultural and manufacturing country can base its prosperity, is not under the control of the Government or people of Canada: we allude to our Foreign Trade.

Surely no business man will deny that a foreign trade is the only relief to the home market, that the most prosperous community is that which can export the largest quantity of home-made goods. In that respect, Canada is no exception, and our agriculture, our manufactures, our fisheries, our mines, could supply the foreign markets of the world, with a considerable list of products, at a lower price than any other country.

There is one condition, however, on which alone we can compete with rival nations and it is, : that Canadian products shall be allowed to enter foreign markets on terms similar to those granted to other nations.

But what is the position now? Why our own goods are met, at every frontier of the Continent of Europe, with differential duties against Canada, amounting to positive prohibition for a large proportion of our products, and with practical prohibition for as many others. Thus, while the manufacturers of Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France and England, are allowed to interchange commodities on reasonable terms, Canada is practically shut out of those countries, of a market of 200,000,000 of consumers, by differential prohibitory tariffs. Our commercial relations with the United States, we will have occasion to show, are still more unsatisfactory, through our inability, as colonists, to negotiate ourselves a commercial union with our prosperous neighbours.

A Prominent U. S. Banker on Independance.—
We have received, from a prominent leader of public

opinion in the United States, the assurance of a deep interest in the Emancipation movement. He writes :
“ we are ready for full and complete commercial union
“ but will never give heed to any form of reciprocity
“ treaty”. Then he continues as follow

“ Canada is, of all countries, the one which might render America the greatest service,—the service of creating a strong and vigorous nationality on our own frontier. Our own policy would be more prudent and sensible if we had such a neighbour close at hand. Rome dates her fall from the day when, at the instance of her great bankers and traders, she destroyed her only rival in arms and commerce, and reigned with no peer on the shores of the Mediteranean.

But we see little prospect of the rise of such a nationality, so long as Canada retains her present colonial position. She is intellectually, politically and commercially, an English dependency. She may talk about “ a silken rein ” which holds her to England ; but silk may be as harmful as leather or hemp, when you make it into a rein ; and no community that owns its own soul will wear “ a rein ” of any sort. The connection with England means perpetual pupilage, means the closing of an independent historic career to Canadian statesmen. It means following the fortunes of a nation whose material interests and its motives to peace and war all lie outside of Canada. This is “ the silken rein ” ; if Canadians like it, they are welcome.

Some of the Canadians are evidently of the opinion that annexation is the great end of American policy. They are vastly mistaken. Should Canada ever knock at the doors of the Union, she will be welcomed in. But we are not urgent to have her come. There are so many reasons on either side that we are left in a suspense of judgment, which will only be terminated in favor of annexation by her own action in that direction. And certainly the American people will not take the initiative toward annexation, either by force or peaceably.

It is not the political but the commercial relations of the two countries which call urgently for readjustment. It is here that the dangers of disagreement and collision are most patent. And we believe that the time has come for a great change.

What we need with Canada, and what both countries we believe are ready for, is such a Zollverein as Austra-Hungary and Germany are said to have recently negotiated. Let us have one Tariff, one Custom House system for the whole continent north of the Rio Grande, with a division of the receipts proportional to population. The whole relations of the two countries point to such a solution. Whether the boundary line between America or Canada is or is not one of those providential lines which Ritter and the other scientific geographers believe to have been created for national frontiers, it certainly never was created for a Custom House frontier. It is a gross absurdity, which reflects on the common sense and business capacity of both countries, and will continue to do so under any arrangement except that which we propose. Both countries would save a large slice of revenue by making the seashore their only Custom House line, and would facilitate friendly personal intercourse between themselves. It would take away the chief obstacle to the free flow of American capital into Canada, and would rapidly bring the Dominion up to the industrial level of our own country. The tide of emigration would cease to flow Southward across the line; and the emigrants whom either traditional loyalty or Canadian assistance has carried thither, will not be seeking renumeration under the American flag.

To the lower provinces a Zollverein would be an especial boon. It would throw open to them our vast coasting-trade, which employs a greater tonnage than the whole mercantile marine of Great Britain. It would put them on a level with Maine as ship-builders, and enable them to find uninterrupted employment for their shipyards and their lumberers. On the other hand, it would put an end to the wretched disputes

about the fisheries, securing Americans the fullest rights on the banks, and Canadians the perpetual right of free access to American markets.”

This is exactly the position which we take in our Review and we call upon every business man on this continent to give us his support.

Practical tests of differential duties against Canada.—Our exhibitors in Paris have had a practical test of the differential duties against Canada. Mr. Malcom, of Toronto, had to refuse orders for his very superior saddlery from the best sportsmen in France, because, coming from Canada, it was prohibited: While his more favoured rivals, from other countries, paid only 10 per cent. One of the largest clothing firms in Paris, wishing to order 6,000 pieces of Canadian tweed, had to be told that tweeds coming from Canada, were prohibited, although imported at 10 per cent in France from other countries.

In agricultural implements, several large orders were taken. On one of them, consisting of 1,000 mowers and reapers, the canadian manufacturer had to pay a differential duty of \$12,400, against 4,000 that would have been paid by the implement manufacturer of any European nation.

Under these circumstances how can our workshops be kept busy? Our woollen and cotton mills, our boot and shoe factories, our foundries and iron ware shops are actually prohibited from exporting any of their goods to Europe. While our ship-yards, our agricultural implement factories, our saw works, wooden ware and furniture shops, sewing machines and other manufactures are practically cut off from the civilized world, by differential duties against Canada, amounting, to practical prohibition.

In this most unfair and disastrous position, how can our commercial, agricultural and manufacturing interests be prosperous? How can the Canadian producer compete with advantage against his more furtu-

nate rival in other countries? If he is met by existing differential duties from all sides, he is bound to go down where so many of our once princely citizens have already gone, and where so many, who have fought to this day, are now going, with or without leave from their creditors; every succeeding day bringing new disasters, amounting to \$22,000,000, for the last twelve months.

Where are the advantages of British connection.—We are told that, as colonists of Great Britain, we derive great advantages from British Connection. Now let us see what those advantages are.

1. Are we represented in the British Parliament? No.
2. Do we receive a single cent from England? No.
3. Does England pay her own officers, the Governor-General and the Commander of the Forces in Canada? No.
4. Does England build and repair her own fortifications in Canada? No.
5. Does England pay the armement, clothing, accoutrements and war supplies of the military force in Canada? No.
6. Did England reimburse our expenditure in the Fenian raid, on her account? No.
7. Did England insist on our Fenian raid claims, against the United States? No.
8. Does Great Britain give the slightest advantage to the importation of Canadian Products, in preference to those of her most bitter enemy? No.
9. Does Great Britain protect her Canadian subject in a foreign country? No.
10. Is the subject of a foreign country, who has taken the oath of allegiance in Canada, protected by Great Britain against his mother country? No.
11. Is Great Britain able and willing to protect Canada against foreign invasion? No.
12. Are Canadians the equals in citizenship to the inhabitants of Great Britain? No.
13. Do Canadian products benefit of the advantages secured to Great Britain by her commercial treaties with foreign nations? No.

Where then are the great advantages, political or commercial, which we derive from British connection? Echo answers.....No.....Where!

The absurd position of the Dominion Board of Trade Illustrated.—The gentlemen of the Dominion Board of Trade, representing millions of money, invested in commercial and manufacturing pursuits, have no more power to solve the question of our foreign trade, than so many men meeting at a street corner to discuss it. Their helplessness in glaring, in last year's report of their deliberations, and no meeting takes place this year.

First, the President reported that the Board had been praying the Dominion Government to obtain a reduction in the French Tariff of the differential duties imposed on Canadian shipping. Only a formal acknowledgment of the petition had been received from the Canadian Government. Next came the report of the Secretary, Mr. Patterson, who concluded :

“ I need not dilate upon what might be the disastrous consequences to our commerce, if no account is taken of colonial interests in future commercial treaties between the Imperial Government and foreign nations.”

Why, one should think that Mr. Patterson would have been already aware of those disastrous consequences, for they had swept from existence millions of the people's money; bank stocks, property, workshops and commercial houses had gone down at a frightful rate, and, unless immediate action was taken, we were fast becoming a bankrupt people. In this emergency, what were the suggestions of Mr. Patterson? They were:

“ 1st. That a communication be forwarded to the Executive Council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, invoking their aid in procuring for the Colonies of the Empire recognition on equal terms in all future commercial

“ treaties with foreign countries ; and, 2nd, The presentation of a Petition to His Excellency the Governor General of this Dominion, setting forth the disabilities under which Canadian commerce and manufactures struggle, by virtue of the present French Tariff, praying that the Government of this Dominion will take immediate steps to represent the whole question to Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen and Her Privy Council.”

Nothing could be more eloquent to illustrate the abject and helpless position in which we stand with regard to commercial matters. Here is the chief officer of the General Board of Trade of this great Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, groaning under ruin and bankruptcy, and appealing for relief, not to his proud Government, but to the “ Executive Council of the Association of chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.”

In the worst days of our Colonial history, we had to submit to Downing Street government, and that was considered bad enough then. But what has this great Dominion come to now, with its increased population, mighty canals, immense railway system, enormous shipping, extensive manufactures and increased trade ?

It has come to this humiliating position that the Canadian Government and people are powerless to settle their own commercial policy ; that the *Executive Council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom*” alone hold in their hands the vital interests of this great Dominion. So much so, that Mr. Patterson feels the necessity of appealing to them first, and, in the second place only, to “ *His Excellency the Governor General*. How far His Excellency and the Hon. Members of His Privy Council can be pleased, with this subordinate position on commercial matters, affecting their administration of the country, is a matter of appreciation. But it is doubtful that a famishing and impoverished people will wait upon the good will of the “ Executive Council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom,” to allow

their country to enter the foreign markets of the world, on the same conditions as the citizens of the most favoured nation.

Canada the only dependency in free America.

—On looking over the Map of the Continent of America, from pole to pole, we find the following galaxy of free states :

| | |
|---|------------|
| The Republic of the United States | 50,000,000 |
| The Republic of Mexico | 9,000,000 |
| The Republic of Guatemala | 1,000,000 |
| The Republic of Honduras..... | 400,000 |
| The Republic of San Salvador..... | 600,000 |
| The Republic of Nicaragua..... | 400,000 |
| The Republic of Costa-Rica..... | 150,000 |
| The Republic of Venezuala..... | 2,300,000 |
| The Republic of Columbia | 3,000,000 |
| The Republic of the Equator..... | 1,300,000 |
| The Republic of Perou..... | 3,000,000 |
| The Republic of Bolivia..... | 2,300,000 |
| The Republic of Paraguay | 1,400,000 |
| The Republic of La Plata..... | 1,500,000 |
| The Republic of Chili..... | 1,700,000 |
| The Republic of Uruguay..... | 300,000 |
| The Empire of Bresil | 11,000,000 |

With the exception of the Dutch, English and French Guyanas, numbering 250,000 inhabitants, the whole of the American continent, exclusive of Canada, has emancipated itself from colonial bondage, within the last century.

Is it not a marvel, for the unprejudiced observer, that this great Dominion, with its immense territory, resources and intelligent population, should be the last to proclaim its national independance? Have we carried our shackles so long that we refuse to part with them? Or is it ignorance on our part of the humiliating and disastrous position in which we stand, in the eyes of the world, that has kept us so far at the rear rank of every other community of free men, on the Continent of America? Alas! we have even seen the emanci-

pation of the black in the United States, but we have yet to see the Emancipation of the White men in Canada.

Canada must control her foreign trade.—We were told, ten years ago, that Confederation would secure for Canada the rights and privileges of a free state. That the time would come when she would take a proud position amongst the nations of the earth, that a new nationality had sprung into life. Every one, both in Great Britain and Canada, was of opinion that, once organized, the new Confederation should be left free to develop its great future; free to enter in communication with foreign countries and regulate its commercial relations by treaty; free to go to war or remain in peace; free to be represented in every great commercial centre by an accredited consular agent, seriously engaged in opening new avenues to our products; free in her policy as an independent nation to work out the great destinies of our people on this continent.

And under those conditions alone could we solve the problem of our depressed condition and future prosperity. Have we not the knowledge, the ability and the will of settling our affairs of State? Why should the people of this country dance attendance on “the Executive Council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom,” awaiting their pleasure to settle our commercial relations, not only with France, but with every other nation on the European Continent.

Then, again, what security have we that these gentlemen, through pure sentimentality, will allow our manufactures to outsell the British goods on the foreign markets, were we are now purposely excluded? No business man will doubt one moment, that, in a considerable number of manufactured articles, we would now, or we would soon, outsell the British manufacturer in foreign markets. We, therefore, stand

in the position of rivals, and cannot possibly expect any serious help from our British competitors to break down the barriers now excluding us from Europe, where British fabrics would soon meet the lively competition of our goods. If our commercial men are sincere in their desire for a revival of our prosperity, they must make up their desire at once to have the full and exclusive control of our foreign trade.

Why Sir Francis Hincks is satisfied to be a Colonist.—Sir Francis writes: “I believe that our present political state is a most enviable one. We have all the advantages that we could have as an Independent State, with the additional one of being protected, free of cost, by a nation whose influence and power are second to none. I am firmly persuaded, in my own mind, that the necessary result of any change from our present system would result in annexation, and I am equally persuaded that it could only be accomplished after civil war.”

Is Sir Francis ignorant of the fact that, as a colonist, he is not represented in the Parliament of the Empire, where our greatest interests are discussed? Are we not at war now, both in Afghanistan and Zululand, with the prospect of meeting Russia at any moment? Immense armements are going on near the borders of Afghanistan. Russian cruisers are being purchased to prey on our defenceless mercantile marine. In a few weeks we may have to face an enemy not to be despised. And what can we do to prevent such an undesirable contingency? Nothing! We have no voice to be heard in the councils of Great Britain and to protest against Lord Beaconsfield Policy. As mere Colonists, we have no acknowledged rights. In fact we in Canada are of no more account in the Government of the Empire, than the indians of our own western territories, in the Government of the Dominion. In matters of foreign trade, or of postal and other treaties we have no more right to be represented. On all these questions

we have to look to the imperial government for assistance, when we are much better qualified ourselves to attend to our own interests.

If, Sir Francis, after a well spent life, is satisfied with this admirable political state, we of the younger generation are not. "But then" says the Gallant Knight, "we are protected by Great Britain free of cost." And against whom, will we ask? Canada has no enemies. If we are now exposed to danger it is all due to the warlike policy of the mother country. Great Britain has deadly foes all over the world, and Canada, at any moment, may be called upon to pay the penalty of being part of the Empire. No military man has yet been found to report, to the war department, that Canada could be successfully defended against invasion. Millions of money have been recently spent in the construction of the Levis forts, now used as cattle yards, while the Quebec fortifications, crumbling down to pieces, are being kept in repair, at considerable expense, by our own Public Works Department. Does that indicate much confidence, on the part of Great Britain, in our ability to resist invasion?

Evidently Sir Francis forgets that, when eight millions of men are now drilling in the armies of Europe, England, with her army of 200,000, has not a single man to spare for service in Canada, in a case of difficulty. It is fully understood that we would be left to our own resources as in 1812.

Sir Francis is persuaded that independence could only be accomplished after civil war. Well, at that price, we better not have it. But the sound practical judgment of the Anglo Saxon must have singularly suffered from Canadian residence, if our people are disposed to sacrifice their best interests to mere sentimental considerations. The French or Irish might, but the English or Scotch, never! They would be ashamed of it, as a practical people.

We have seen cattle refuse to leave, when the barn was on fire. We have seen slaves fight like niggers, on the side of their masters, against those who sacrificed

their lives to emancipate them. But it would be a painful sight, in this nineteenth century, to see the descents of a bold nation prefer the humiliating position of the Colonist, to the proud citizenship of Independent Canada..

Canada and Great Britain must separate on good terms.—Public men, in England, are perfectly aware of the difficulties of our present position, and, when His Excellency was leaving for Canada, their conclusion was, as expressed in the London papers: “Let us not repeat the error committed with regard to the United States. When Canada wishes to separate, she must be made to understand that Great Britain will see her off, with the best wishes for her future. By all means, let us separate on good terms, with prospects of an everlasting friendship.”

If we are to separate some day, and nobody doubts that proposition, the sooner the better. In six months from the day of Canadian Independance, our Minister of Foreign Affairs will have opened every frontier to the importation of our goods, on the terms of the most favoured nation. Canada, having the prestige and good will always shown to a young country, will meet with the best wishes of every nation in the world. Her policy being one of peace, her trade will not be disturbed by the European wars now threatening every country abroad. On the contrary, as an independent nation, Europe's difficulty would be Canada's opportunity, for we could then, as an independent state, supply the combatants with our products. Our commercial shipping, representing 1,300,000 tons, now exposed to be swept from the sea at any moment, in case Great Britain should go to war with a maritime power, would be profitably and safely employed, under the Canadian flag, in the carrying trade of the world.

On the other hand, the Mother Country will no more be exposed to come into difficulties with the United States through Canada. A danger which might

be followed by the gravest consequences, both to Great Britain and to the Dominion.

Hon. George Brown's failure at Washington.—

What were the difficulties, in the way of Hon. George Brown in obtaining a Reciprocity Treaty from the United States? On our side of the line, there is not a single business man who ignores that the past prosperity of Canada was due mainly to reciprocal trade relations with our pushing neighbours. The American conflict gave us a large share of the thousands of millions of dollars so lavishly expended by the American people, during that disastrous war. Our agricultural productions, timber, cattle, dairy produce, &c., representing our export trade, found a ready and profitable market with the Americans. Their prosperity was our prosperity, and we advanced in wealth and enterprise in the same ratio as the United States.

Where is the business man in Canada who will not acknowledge that the neighbouring Republic is our natural market, and that Reciprocity to-morrow would at once restore our trade and industry to the standard of former years? The United States themselves would equally benefit of the change, for the Provinces of Canada would then be like so many new States added to the Union.

Reciprocity therefore must be the object of every Canadian Administration. But with no prospect however of obtaining any concession from our neighbours, so long as we are a dependancy of Great Britain. The moment we are independant, we will have all the trade we want from the United States.

The Hon. George Brown failed in his mission on that ground alone. The sooner the people of Canada realise their position in this matter the better for all concerned. It is all very well for Members of the Boards of Trade to give us to understand, in sentimental speeches, that Reciprocity is a matter of time, and may be granted at any moment. We affirm here,

and defy contradiction, that both political parties in the United States, Republican and Democratic, are one in sentiment on this question. Reciprocity will follow Independence, but will never precede it.

They can not afford to build up, on their northern frontier, a foreign European power, hostile to their institutions, whose presence here can to-morrow embroil the whole North American continent in a most disastrous war, and imperil the very existence of the Republic.

The Americans, who are a practical people, will allow Europe, with her eight millions of armed men, to have all the fighting they wish among themselves, but they are determined not to allow the brute force intervention policy to invade this continent. They are a peace-loving and industrious community, with a great future before them, and with the sole ambition of developing the boundless resources of their vast territory. They are now head and shoulders above other nations in everything that contributes to the general comfort and welfare of a highly progressive people. What the American Republic will be in twenty years, with her teaming millions and rival industries, surpasses all calculations.

Is it not distressing, then, when the whole world is in loud-spoken admiration and bewilderment at the astounding progress of the American nation, that we should find, in Sir Francis Hincks, a close neighbour to the United States, the embodiment of those sentiments of jealousy, prejudice, and rancour, which are the distinguishing characteristics of the fossilised colonist. Without regard to the injured feelings of a proud people, he hurls at us what he thinks a most opprobrious epithet, that of "Annexationist."

Well, even at the risk of displeasing Sir Francis, we must declare, with every intelligent man not blinded by ignorance or prejudice, our profound admiration and respect for the American Republic. May we say that we have met many of our citizens abroad, who proudly introduced themselves as citizens of the United

States, when to give themselves as Canadian colonists would have put them at a discount. As to being "a pronounced annexationist," as Sir Francis is pleased to accuse us of, we are afraid we do not look upon that accusation with the distraction of mind with which he himself must have met his late trial. In fact, if we were an annexationist, we would find ourselves just now in very good, very numerous and very desirable company, notwithstanding Sir Francis's absence. But to be sincere, that is not our position. The emancipation of Canada from the numerous drawbacks of the Colonial system and commercial union with the United States, have our full sympathies and support, and we hope and believe to see them realized in the near future, for the best interests of Canada.

Canada must paddle its own canoe.—The relief to the present position is not abroad, it is at home. It is in the hands of our trusted public men, it is in the bold and manly stand of the people. As long as we have been a handful of colonists employed in the timber and fur trades, or in the production of cereals, we could be dealt with as of no account. But, since those far-gone days of Downing Street supremacy, we have grown to a mighty Confederation, with vast interests to protect, and with the power and will of protecting them ourselves, not by proxy. The crisis has arrived when Canada must paddle its own canoe, and let go the apron strings of the mother country. To the outside world we present very much the appearance of a full-grown, heavy-built, intelligent looking young man, well able to start in business on his own account, but sticking to his father's roof, much to the old man's disgust, although he does not like to mention it. The consequence will be that, instead of helping his son to settle down comfortably on a farm of his own, the old man, in a mood of impatience, will some day pick up a quarrel with his son, when they will separate on bad terms, never to meet again. Has it not been the sad experience of the United States and Great Britain?

Where was the Canadian Flag at the Paris Exhibition.—As a compliment to every nation represented at the Paris Exhibition, allegorical statues of large dimensions, with the arms and flag of each country were conspicuously placed in front of the Main Building. The Dominion of Canada, with its large and valuable collections, as well as for its historical connections with France, once its mother country, was certainly more entitled to this honor than any other colony. But the British Commission, regardless of our rights placed Australia and India on each side of England, ignoring at the same time the titles of Canada to this proud position. The Dominion flag was nowhere as usual.

How did our West India Island Embassy succeed?—Another very practical illustration of what we can expect, from Great Britain, in commercial matters, is to be found in the result of that great mission to the West India Islands, which took place immediately after Confederation, when Sir John A. Macdonald's Government policy was to open foreign markets to the growing industries of the New Dominion. The Hon. W. Macdougall, our townsman Mr. Delisle, and some other gentlemen were appointed general Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries for the occasion. They were about to leave for the West Indies direct *via* New York, with full instructions from the Canadian Government, when they were requested to report to the Colonial Office, in London, to receive their credentials and to confer on the question.

On their arrival, they received a despatch from the Foreign Office, in which they were told that no granting of mutual advantages, between Canada and the West India Islands, would be allowed by Great Britain that did not apply equally, and at the same time, to her own English products. Our Plenipotentiaries understood at once that, under those circumstances, their mission would necessarily be a failure,

and having so expressed themselves, they naturally took their return passage for Canada.

Of course, this was not considered desirable in London, and the Foreign Office was induced to withdraw the offensive despatch, but went to work to pacify our indignant Plenipotentiaries by what we will call a diplomatic move. Our Ambassadors being fully satisfied left for the West Indies, rejoicing in their victory over the Foreign Office, little thinking that it was all the other way.

They were given a man-of-war for their triumphal march from island to island. Meeting with splendid receptions, they carried everything before them, and concluded most satisfactory treaties, signed and agreed upon, the assent of the Local Governors alone being yet required to make them binding—a pure matter of form, of course, as was repeatedly asserted to our Plenipotentiaries.

But strange to say the signatures of the Governors are yet to be attached to these documents, after eleven years of expectation. The explanation is a simple one. We hold from one of the Plenipotentiaries himself, that the very steamer that carried them, from London to the West Indies, carried at the same time a confidential despatch of the Colonial Office to the Local Governors, not to sanction any interprovincial agreement made with Canada, in which mutual commercial advantages would be stipulated, to the exclusion of Great Britain and Ireland. So, after all, our Plenipotentiaries were floored by the London Foreign Office, and so they have been and so they will be every time, as long as we have not the full and sole control of our own commercial relations with foreign countries.

Canada's humble Position in the Empire.—

We hear a great deal about the rights and privileges which we enjoy, as subjects of Great Britain and Ireland. As a rule Colonists believe themselves the equals in citizenship to the more favoured inhabitants

of the mother country. Now let us see in what position we really stand, in this most important matter.

The population of the Empire is divided in four very distinct classes, subservient the one to the other. First and uppermost is the Royal family, who, by right of succession, hold for all time to come the supreme and unrestricted power of royalty, over 300,000,000 of subjects.

Next in rank and power come the nobility, the dukes, marquises, earls, &c. who sit in the house of Lords, and direct the destinies of the British empire, regardless of the wishes or dictates of the commoners, above whom they stand uncontrolled, in their hereditary supremacy over the people of England.

Next again in rank are the commoners, the representatives of the masses from which they spring. They have all the rights and privileges of a free people under a constitutional government. They legislate for the whole empire, including the colonies, on all national or international questions.

Finally in the fourth or last class of British subjects are some 260,000,000 colonists, dispersed all over the world, of all nationalities, creeds or colors, enjoying more or less freedom of local government, under the supremacy of the English Parliament, and the supervision of a Governor General, himself an employee of the Colonial office in London, where he has to report for instructions.

The Colonist, wherever he resides, either in Canada, Australia, India, the West India Islands or the coast of Africa, has no right to representation in the affairs of the Empire. He is a minor to all intents and purposes, with none of the freedom and of the most important privileges guaranteed to the people of England by the British constitution. And the Colonist who, as a fourth class Englishman, prides himself of his connection with the British Empire, under those humiliating conditions, is either ignorant of his real position, or deprived of the noblest sentiments of manhood.

Why has Sir A. T. Galt's Mission failed ?—Sir A. T. Galt has in vain, for the last two years, endeavoured to negotiate a commercial treaty with France and Spain. Who will say that Sir A. T. Galt lacks the ordinary intelligence of an ambassador, to successfully accomplish his important mission ? No ! the difficulties our representative has had to contend with are not to be found on the part of France or Spain, who both so much desire intimate commercial relations with Canada, but they are to be found in the British Foreign Office, where Sir A. T. Galt's freedom of action has been impaired, where petty Colonial interests cannot possibly be entertained, to the detriment of the higher and more pressing interests of the empire.

We beg to state here that Mr. J. Perrault, having had the honour of several interviews with the Minister of Commerce in France, and having had the privilege of furnishing him, at his request, with a copy of our tariff, he was informed by that gentlemen that, with the exception of the duties on French wines, which amounted to 50 per cent., the Canadian tariff was perfectly satisfactory. And the Minister added that if Canada was a treaty-making power, he would have no hesitation in agreeing at once to the preliminaries to be submitted to the French Parliament, granting us all the advantages of the most favoured nation clause ; that is to say, substituting a 10 per cent. tariff to the prohibitory clauses, under which our manufacturers and producers are now being deprived of what might be a most important foreign market.

But Canada being a colony of Great Britain, the whole matter must be referred to the British Foreign Office. There it will have to wait for years the full discussion of a renewal of the Anglo French Treaty, involving every manufacturing and commercial interest of both countries. That is a practical illustration of the undesirable position in which we stand, as a colony, in commercial matters.

Can our Railways be made to pay.—The present indebtedness of the Dominion amounts to \$190,000,000 a large portion of which has been sunk in Canals, the Grand Trunk, the Intercolonial, the European and North American, the Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island and Canadian Pacific Railways.

In 1857 \$15,000,000 were loaned the Grand Trunk by the Government of Canada and not a dollar of principal or interest has been paid to the state from that date to this, and never will be as long as we are debarred from free commercial relations with the United States. That road now stands indebted over \$30,000,000.

The Intercolonial cost \$36,000,000 and the running expenses and maintenance exceed the receipts by a million of dollars, in the last two years. Through imperial influence, this road was built, for war purposes, as far as possible from the American frontier, thus deflecting the line of route and increasing the distance to its terminus in New Brunswick 150 miles. Its prospects of securing a sustaining traffic was thus utterly destroyed, through that imperial policy which we find everywhere overshadowing the best interests of Canada. We beg to ask the sentimental press, if on that occasion we have not paid a heavy price for British connection. Is it not a fact that, in a few months, when the International from Sherbrooke makes its connection in the State of Maine, the distance will be shortened 300 miles, and the Intercolonial must necessarily loose what through traffic now partially pays running expenses?

Some \$5,000,000 have been paid to the European and North American Railway of New Brunswick. Nova Scotia has received \$6,750,000 and Prince Edward Island \$3,400,000 for a Railway which has not paid running expenses by \$200,000, in the last two years. Some \$80,000,000 have thus been paid by the Dominion for our railway system within a short period.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, estimated to cost \$150,000,000 with its branches, roll-

ing stock and equipments, must necessarily, for generations, entail a heavy loss to pay its working expenses, if its object is to reach, after running through hundreds of miles of barren and mountainous country, some twenty thousand fishermen and miners, scattered along the Pacific slope.

This is a scheme of great magnitude, which no private interests could be induced to take the responsibility of. It is well known that the last mission of our Canadian Ministers in England for that object has utterly failed. Neither could the Imperial guarantee be obtained, or capitalists be induced to favour the project. And it must necessarily be so, as long as we are shut up from all sides, with chinese walls and hostile differential duties, which, as Colonists, we are powerless to remove.

Our acknowledged policy now is to be contended, as the sentimental loyalist press affirms, with our present state of dependency. That is we are satisfied to have no commercial relations with foreign countries. Our happiness consists in repudiating reciprocal trade with the United States. Our ambition is to have our share in the disasters, which must necessarily follow the war policy of the mother country.

Well business men, all over the world, but specially in England, who are no fools, have no disposition to place their money in the hands of people so disposed to sacrifice their best interests to sentimental considerations. The British Government itself, amazed at our inconceivable devotion to other interests than our own, has lost all confidence in the security of our credit and declines to simply endorse our paper.

But let Canada break the connection, assume its full rights to self government, enter the lists as one of the proud and untrammelled nations of the earth, and immediately will capital flow to our shores, sure of profitable investment. No more chinese walls or hostile tariffs will prevent our free expansion. Foreign ships from all countries will be anchored in our sea ports. Through traffic from every part of the continent will

cross our frontier, untrammelled by hostile custom house regulations. Then will our railways overflow with freight and passengers. Then will the construction of the Pacific meet with every encouragement from American and other capitalists, always disposed to make a profitable investment. Let us hope that the people of Canada will soon realise the absurdity of their present position, and that, in the near future, we will all come to the conclusion that Canadian Emancipation is the only road to general prosperity.

How Canada was treated at the Postal Congress.—Mr. Gordon Brown, the distinguished general manager of the Toronto Globe Co., was appointed delegate and representative of the Canadian Government at the Paris International Postal Congress of 1878.

Having received his credentials Mr. Brown reported himself to Mr. Cochery, the President of the Postal Congress, now Minister of the French Government. Mr. Cochery received our delegate with the greatest cordiality, begging of him, at the same time, to have his credentials endorsed by the Ambassador of his government, as a necessary preliminary to his admittance as member of the Congress.

Mr. Brown acting, under this suggestion, immediately called at the British Embassy, where Lord Lyons, to his surprise and disgust, would not accredit him as the Representative of the Canadian Government.

“ Mr. So and So, of the London Post Office Department, has been appointed to represent Great Britain at the Postal Congress, said Lord Lyons, and in that case no colony is entitled to representation.”

As a special favor however, Mr. Brown was allowed a back seat on the floor of the house. There he was told to listen and be silent, as he had no right whatever to take any part in the proceedings, even when Canadian interests were being discussed.

The official duties of our Representative at the Postal Congress, thus restricted, were probably more trying to his nerves than to his ability to perform

them. We were not surprised therefore to see them rewarded, at the close, with a bronze medal, as a memento of the proud position taken by this great Dominion, at the Paris International Postal Congress of 1878.

The advantages of a Commercial Union with the U.S.—When the boundary line, with its army of custom house officers, is swept away, and the United States and Canada are consolidated in one grand commercial union, extending from Mexico to the North pole, then only will our prosperity be secured and made permanent. Commercial intercourse will be unobstructed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and flow as freely through all parts of the Union as the waters now dividing the two countries make their way to the ocean. Our farmers will not be met at the frontier with prohibitory duties, but will have the same unimpeded access to their markets as is enjoyed by the other States of the Union, with their cereals and everything from a horse and an ox to a chicken and an egg, they may have to dispose of.

Our lumberers will be able to load their own boats with the products of the forests, and proceed on their way to market without being intercepted by Customs Officers demanding duties, and forcing them to unload as soon as they touch the American boundary. Our minerals will also enjoy the same freedom from duties and interruptions, Our manufacturing industries will have a home market of fifty millions of consumers, and share in the trade and advantages of such as may be secured abroad by the federal Government.

Our shipwrights will be set to work to build up a merchant-marine for the Union. Our ocean vessels will be free to the coasting trade of the whole North American seaboard, and partake in the carrying trade of all parts of the world ; and our lake craft will enjoy equal privileges with those of the bordering States. Money will flow into the country ; property all over

will rapidly increase in value; the water power in our neighbourhood will be largely utilized; the real estate of the cities will soon advance to higher prices than it ever reached in the most speculative times, and our city itself be forced to enlarge its borders; our harbour will soon have a shipping traffic second only to that of New York of the whole American continent, and the wheels of industry, so long remaining blocked, will be set in motion, infusing new life into the whole business community.

A share in all this is within our reach, if we only choose to avail ourselves of it, and surely it must be evident to all that it is only trifling with the interests of the country to remain as we are, and utter nonsense to fancy we can continue to go on as we are doing.

We agree with Professor Smith that "the ties of blood, of language, of historical associations, and of general sympathy, which bind the British portion of the Canadian people to England, are not dependant on the political connection, nor is it likely they would be at all weakened by its severance, nor fail to be manifested by practical assistance in the hour of need," while they would, at the same time, exercise much influence in fostering the growth of the friendly feeling towards the Mother Country now manifesting itself in the United States, and thus help to bring closer together in sentiment and policy these too long divided and estranged Anglo-Saxon Nations.

Why the St. Lawrence Improvements are not a paying investment.—The St. Lawrence with its chain of lakes, reaching 2,000 miles in the interior of the continent at Duluth, about half way between the Atlantic and the Pacific, is the most gigantic inland navigation to be found in the world. For 15,000,000 of people, settled on both sides of its shores and west of Lake Superior, the St. Lawrence can be made the cheapest conveyancer on this continent. Now custom house dues and regulations, including heavy securities

for products in transit, together with harbour and other charges, practically close this great natural outlet of the Western States.

To have the full benefit of the \$50,000,000 already spent or contracted for to improve the St. Lawrence navigation, with \$10,000,000 additional to complete the works, it is above all necessary to have the fullest commercial relations with the United States. Then will our Canals be a paying investment instead of a source of heavy and unprofitable expenditure under present conditions.

The annual interest of the construction account of the St. Lawrence improvements will shortly amount to \$3,000,000. The annual returns average about \$150,000, making an annual deficit of \$2,850,000 not including expenses of management and repairs. The first enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals cost \$9,400,000. They were never used to a tenth of their capacity, but still to secure the Western traffic \$30,000,000 additional are now expended for a further enlargement.

To secure tolls enough to pay full interest, on the cost of the Canals, would require a tonnage to pass through them equal to the tonnage of all the sail and steam vessels of Great Britain, the United States and Canada put together. But instead of encouraging the American shipping to pass through our Canals, we systematically exclude them by annoying and hostile regulations and tariffs, practically closing the navigable routes of the St. Lawrence against their shipping.

What the U. S. have accomplished since the war.—What has been accomplished by the United States since the close of their terribly destructive intestine war? While they have had to bear the loss of 800,000 of the working men of their population, the loss of a vast amount of labour by making freemen of their slaves, and the waste and loss of thousands of millions of dollars' worth of property and money by

that strife, they have made good the waste and losses, and annihilated their effects. They have increased the agricultural and other industries of the country to such an extent that their exports show an increase over imports of \$779,970,212 in the last five years, and in the single year just past of \$302,508,308, a state of profitable trade not read of in the commercial history of any other nation. They have built up manufacturing industries capable of supplying their own people and placing them in a position to compete with the most advanced manufacturing nations, in the markets of the world.

They have restored their paper currency, which was a drug amongst themselves a few years ago at a hundred and fifty per cent. discount, to par with gold, and their six per cent. bonds, which they were forced to sacrifice at one-half their face value, are now reduced to four per cent. at which rate they are sought after by their own and foreign investors at a premium of four and a half per cent. They have reduced their war debt by many hundreds of millions of dollars, and have purchased back all but some two hundred millions of dollars worth of their bonds held by foreign countries, the interest on the latter amount only being now payable abroad. They have established specie payments, and have cash in the Treasury amounting to \$420,787,458; and all this, too, at a time when the industries of all other commercial countries have remained in a state of utter prostration, and bankruptcy has been the order of the day!! These are the people we want to trade with.

Cheap loyalty; how history repeats itself.—We hear a good deal, just now, about what is called “loyalty” in Canada. At every important period of our history we have heard the same cry. Immediately after the conquest of Canada by the British Army, the country was placed under military government, the language and religion of the French population were ostracised, none but English and protestant Canadians

being qualified to fill public offices under the crown. So that a handfull of new comers had the whole administration of the people of Canada, whose language they completely ignored.

This tyrannical system of, government had the full support of the loyalists of the time. Every intelligent canadian, who asked for self government, was hounded down as a trator and a disloyal subject.

Now the loyalist of the day is the offspring and natural descent of the loyalist of that dark period, in Canada's History. Time and the progress of the age have both improved him somewhat, but he is still a chip of the old block.

Luckily for the political freedom of Canada, the New England States, in 1876, declared their independence. Then did Great Britain require the assistance of the french canadian militia to keep its hold on this part of the American Continent. As a condition of that assistance the french leaders asked and obtained self government for the colony. But still the new constitution was unsatisfactory to the people, and the loyalists yelped as loudly and as persistantly as ever, at the heels of the distinguished men who were asking from Great Britain a larger measure of self Government for Canada.

Other invasions by the United States Army made it imperative for the home Government to satisfy the just demands of the French leaders, who alone, through their influence over their people, could secure the successful defense of the country against the Americans. Every time important concessions were made to Canada, till at last, after the revolutionary period of 1837, we obtained, at the sacrifice of many valuable and true men, the full control of our local affairs and responsible Government.

Never was the loyalist press so violent than at that last period of our history. Instead of discussing calmly the situation, they piled up abuse, mountain high, over the true patriots who were at the time doing the country such valuable service.

Where is [the Canadian who would now wish to return to the limited self Government of those days ? Still while these men were laying down their lives in the battle for civil and political liberty, the whole pack of the loyalist press was yelping and barking the lowdest. No expression of contempt, of hatred and indignation was too strong to denounce their treacherous, disloyal and contemptible pretensions to self government. A villain's death on the scaffold was too good for them ; they should at least have been quartered.

And now what is the impartial judgment of history ? The monuments which have been raised by a grateful people to the sacred memory of those patriotic citizens is the answer. Sir George Etienne Cartier himself, one of the leaders of 1837, had the proud satisfaction, before his death, of seeing at his feet those very loyalists, who had been hunting him through the country, like a mad dog, now acknowledging that they owed to his energy and pluck, the blessings of responsible government.

Again the bloodhounds are on the scent ? Treason, disloyalty and every thing else which is abominable are infesting the land. Is not self government again asserted by the intelligent men of Canada, and is it not enough to unloose the pack ? But, gentlemen, remember that history repeats itself ; that no amount of barking abuse, and personal slander will prevent Canada from attaining the pinnacle of self government, the full emancipation of her citizens, her national independence.

When Washington and his followers signed the declaration of independence, they too were branded by you as traitors to their country, as disloyal to Great Britain. But where is the man who, in the eye of the world, stands higher this day than Washington, as the father of the most powerful and prosperous republic of modern times ? Where is the man amongst you who will dare say that he was disloyal to his country and people ?

You, gentlemen, who are doing your best to keep

the people of this Great Dominion in serfdom, who deny us the entire and sole control of our most important interests, who are straining every nerve to maintain this Canada of ours under colonial bondage, the day will come when you will be ashamed of the course you are now following; just as you are now ashamed of the unpatriotic course pursued by your predecessors in the loyalty line, during the trying periods of our past history.

Remember that being mere colonists, you have no voice in the Empire, and therefore are deprived of your most cherished rights and privileges as free men. Your loyalty is that of the ox for his driver, of the dog for his master, of the slave for his owner.

A few years ago, slavery was upheld by a large portion of the press in the United States as a sacred institution, justified by the bible itself. Who would now dare reestablish slavery? In Canada, the same experience will repeat itself. We are now, as colonists, the serfs of Great Britain, we are practically deprived of the freedom and advantages of self-government. A large portion of the press is found to support colonial bondage. But let Canadian Emancipation be proclaimed, and it will be as difficult to find an intelligent man against it then as it is difficult now to find an advocate of slavery in the neighbouring republic.

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